

Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla of Prāgjyōtiṣa in Āsām.—By

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(With Plates VIII–XIII).

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These two grants were also sent to me by Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., one in May 1896, the other in April 1897.¹ The former was found in Suālkucī. About the find-place of the latter, nothing is known. It is now in the possession of a cultivator of Nāhorhābi village, Mauṛa Bargāō, District Darrang, Subdivision Tējpur, who says that it was discovered by his grandfather. As it is convenient to give it a name, and as Tējpur is already appropriated by another Āsām grant, published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, it may be called the Bargāon copper-plate.

The Suālkucī grant unfortunately is in a very bad condition as will be described hereafter. Without the Bargāon grant, with which most of its contents are identical, it would have been impossible to make any thing satisfactory of it. The Bargāon grant is in an almost perfect condition, and hence I will describe it first.

I. THE BARGĀON GRANT.

This grant and its seal are just like the Gauhaṭī grant of Indrapāla. This will be seen from the photograph (Plates VIII–X), so that I need not repeat their description. The plates, of which there are three, measure $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The seal measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The two outside plates are only inscribed on their inner sides. The interior plate has 20 lines on each side; the other two inscribed sides have 17 and 15 lines respectively.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. It differs from other grants, in giving a portion of the genealogy of the donor in prose. The earlier part of the genealogy, referring to Ratnapāla's ancestry, is in poetry, *viz.*, from the beginning down to line 28. From here the

¹ See my papers on the previous Gauhaṭī and Nowgong Grants, in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 113, 285.

description of Ratnapāla's residence and person is in prose, down to line 52. The remainder is as usual: namely the description of the land, its perquisites and boundaries is in prose, *viz.*, from line 52 down line 58, and lines 58 to 64; but the genealogy of the donee is in verse, from lines 65 to 72.

The composition is very laboured; and the fact that about one-half of the royal genealogy is in prose suggests that the writer's literary powers were not equal to the task of versifying the whole.

The mechanical execution of the grant is very slovenly and inaccurate; it is, in this respect, even worse than that of the Gauhaṭī grant. Syllables are frequently omitted; thus l. 1, *duṣṭē* for *nirduṣṭair*(?); l. 13, *kṣi* for *kṣiti*; l. 15, *khim* for *kṣitim*; l. 52, *Ratnapā* for *Ratnapāla*, etc. Similarly letters are omitted: *e. g.*, l. 11, *anaya* for *anayad*; l. 22, *anurāgā* for *anurāgāj*. Occasionally superfluous syllables are inserted; *e. g.*, l. 2, *anēkīnēbhavan* for *anēkī-bhavan*; l. 8, *kuṇḍalēna* for *kuṇḍalē*. Similarly a superfluous *l* is added in l. 14, *jayal-labdha* for *jaya-labdha*, l. 45, *udbhāsanal-lāṣō*, etc. Anusvāra and visarga are very frequently omitted; see the footnotes 4, 15, 18, etc. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged; *e. g.*, l. 3, *tāt* for *tat*; l. 6, *ṣrīyam* for *ṣriyam*, etc. For other miscellaneous blunders, see footnotes 6, 12, 43, 49, 57, 67, etc. A curiosity is the euphonic insertion of *r* in l. 11, *nu-r-ihā*; and there is another instance in the Suālkucī grant, in l. 21, *mārttaṇḍa-r-iva*.

The usual provincialisms abound; for confusion of sibilants, see footnotes 16, 31, 34, 69, 85, 89, 91, etc.; for the ligature of guttural *ṅ* with sibilants, see footnotes 34, 36, 42, etc.; for the ligature of dental *n* with gutturals and sibilants see footnotes 16, 18, 28, 29, etc.; for the ligature of *m* with *v*, see footnotes 13, 44, 65, 67, etc.

The last mentioned ligature is really explained by the fact that no separate sign for *b* is used in all these Āsām grants. And this fact, again, is explained by the circumstance that in Baṅgālī and Āsāmī no distinction is made, in pronunciation, between non-conjunct *v* and *b*; both are pronounced alike as *b*. There are other indications of a more sporadic occurrence of what may be called "phonetic spelling." They are curious, as showing how far back such fashions of pronunciation may be traced. In modern Baṅgālī and Āsāmī *kṣ* is pronounced *kh*. Hence we find in l. 15 *khim* (false for *khitim*) spelled for *kṣitim*, and in l. 17, *vīkhya* for *vīkṣya*. Similarly non-conjunct initial *y* is now pronounced *j*, and conjunct *y* is omitted. An instance of the former practice occurs in l. 21, *jā* for *yā*, l. 35, *jakṣmaṇā* for *yakṣmaṇā*, also in the Gauhaṭī grant II a¹ *jaṣās* for *yaṣās*. An instance of the latter practice occurs in the Nowgong grant in III a⁶ *Ḍāmāyikā*, the correct

spelling of which name *Çyāmāyikā* occurs in the Bargāon grant l. 61. Possibly the curious spelling in l. 18 *yuyyatē* for *yujyatē* may be due to a similar cause; so also the form *ya* in l. 50, for *ca*; though these would rather be survivals of an old prākritic fashion which has not survived to the present day.

Palæographically it may be noted that the avagraha occurs only four times, in ll. 26, 58, 59, 63, though there were sixteen other occasions for its use.

An *r* preceding a consonant is always formed above the line, even with *y*; e.g., l. 21, *āçcaryam*.

The guttural nasal *ṅ* is, as in the Nowgong grant, throughout made without a ringlet; see ll. 3, 4, 14, 15, 17, 27, 33, 35, 41, 43, 60. The initial short *i* is also made exactly as in the Nowgong grant by means of two ringlets placed above a hook; e.g., in l. 35, *Tāika*; ll. 8 and 45, *iva*; l. 24, *iti*. Also *lh* and *r* are made after the older fashion. All this shows that the Bargāon grant cannot be very far apart, in age, from the Nowgong grant.

The anusvāra, in the Bargāon grant as well as in the Nowgong grant, is formed by a ringlet, placed (in the usual way) above the line. In the Gauhaṭī grant it is occasionally placed on the line.² In modern Baṅgālī the latter position is universal. This shows that the Gauhaṭī grant must be appreciably later than the Bargāon and Nowgong grants.

The virāma occurs twice to indicate a final consonant in l. 23, *samyak*, with the full form of *k*, and in l. 23, *mandam* with a slightly truncated form of *m*. In both cases it is attached to the foot of the letter. In the case of final *t*, *n* and *m* specially modified forms are used; thus the final form of *t* occurs in l. 5, *jagat*, l. 7, *akārṣīt*, and l. 63, *'ghāt*. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 54, *jānapadān* and l. 55, *prabhṛtīn* and *sarvvān*. The final form of *m* occurs in l. 2, *tāṇḍavīm*, l. 16, *rājyam*, l. 32, *maṇḍalam*, l. 33, *alaykāram*, l. 39, *sārthānām*, l. 48, *gambhīryam* and *vīryam*, l. 65 *ātmanam* and *ālyām*, ll. 69 and 72, *ālyām*.

As these final forms, as well as the forms of the guttural nasal, anusvāra and *r*, are peculiarly serviceable as test-letters in determining the chronology of the Baṅgālī-Āsāmī script, I have, in the accompanying lithographed table of facsimiles (Plate XI), prepared a small conspectus of them. The reigns I have selected are the following:

- (a) Pāla kings of Bengal (Bihār): DHARMAPĀLA, c. 840–875 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII, Plate III. NĀRĀYAṆA PĀLA, c. 925–950 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLVII, Plates XXIV, XXV;

² The ringlet is so small that the blank core is sometimes almost invisible in the photograph, producing the appearance of a mere dot.

also facsimile of Badal inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 160.

(b) Āsām kings: BALAVARMAṆ, c. 975 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, Plates XXXV and XXXVI. Ratnapāla, c. 1010, facsimile of his grant in this volume, Plates VIII–X, XII and XIII. INDRAPĀLA, c. 1050, facsimile of his grant, in this *Journal*, LXVI, Plates III and IV. VAIDYĀDĒVA, c. 1142, facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Plates I–III, p. 351.

(c) Sēna kings of Bengal (Bihār); VIJAYA SĒNA, c. 1080 A.D., facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 308. LAKṢMAṆA SĒNA, c. 1126, facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIV, Plates I and II.

The table sufficiently explains itself; but I may point out that the special final forms of *t* and *n* have arisen from the practice of attaching the virāma to the top of the full or truncated forms, instead of appending it, in the usual fashion, to their foot; and that the special final form of *m* owes its origin to the contraction of the original square *m* into a small circle, to which the virāma was appended as a tail. Later on, this tail was separated, and thus the forms of *m* and the anusvāra become identical (No. 8 in columns 5 and 15), because in the meantime the anusvāra had assumed a tendency of standing below instead of above the head-line (No. 5, col. 5). At one time the forms of the truncated *n* and special final *m* approached so nearly as to lead to a confusion of them (compare No. 1, col. 12 with col. 15). Thus final *n* is used for final *m* twice in the Nowgong grant, see I *b*² *amalan* for *āmalam*, II *a*⁷ *yauvanan* for *yauvanam*. An earlier instance occurs in the Dharmapāla grant, line 57, *vasundharan* for *vasundharam*³; other instances are in the Lakṣmaṇa Sēna grant, Plate I, obverse, line 21, *layan* for *layam*; Plate II, reverse, line 21, *mantavyan* for *mantavyam*, line 22 *pālanīyan* for *pālanīyam*.

On palæographical grounds, therefore, I am disposed to place the two Ratnapāla grants in the earlier half of the 11th century A.D. (c. 1010–1050). The Nowgong grant I would place a little earlier, about 990 A.D., and the Indrapāla grant, a little later, about 1060 A.D. The Bargāon grant is not dated in any era; neither is the Suālkucī grant; but the former professes to have been issued in the 25th, and the latter in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

Putting together the information given by the Bargāon grant with that afforded by the Tējpur, Nowgong, and Gauhaṭī grants, it now

³ See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 250.

becomes possible to arrange a fairly connected dynastic history of Āsām. All the grants agree in beginning with Hari (Viṣṇu), his son Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, his younger brother Vajradatta. They further agree⁴ in stating that Vajradatta was succeeded by several members of his dynasty, after which Naraka's dynasty was displaced by Çāla Stambha, described in the Bargāon grant as a *Mlēccha*⁵ or 'foreign' conqueror. According to that grant, Çāla Stambha was succeeded by twenty other foreign kings, of whom Vigraba Stambha was the first, and Tyāga Simha the last; and the grant adds that after Tyāga Simha the ancient dynasty of Naraka was restored in the person of Brahma Pāla. Unfortunately the Tējpur grant is unsatisfactorily recorded in volume IX of this *Journal*, both with respect to the original text and its English translation. But this much seems to be clearly stated in it that a series of rulers, commencing with Çāla Stambha, ended with Çrī-Hariṣa, after which a king called Pralambha of Naraka's race succeeded to the throne. On the first view this would seem to show that Tyāga Simha and Çrī-Hariṣa were the same persons, and so also Brahma Pāla and Pralambha. The latter identification, of course, is impossible, because Brahma Pāla and Pralambha gave rise to two distinct dynasties, as the Bargāon and Nowgong grants show. But it is still possible that these two dynasties might have ruled contemporaneously, in different parts of the country, on Çāla Stambha's dynasty becoming extinct with Tyāga Simha *alias* Çrī-Hariṣa. This supposition would seem to derive some confirmation from the fact that the Bargāon and Gauhaṭī grants are given from the town of *Durjayā*, *alias* Prāggyōtiṣa, while the Nowgong grant is given from the "ancestral camp" of Hārūppēçvara. Against this, however, is to be set the fact that Bala Varman (of the Nowgong grant) of the Harjara or Pralambha dynasty is also described on his seal as belonging to the dynasty of the kings of Prāggyōtiṣa, so that Prāggyōtiṣa would seem to have been the capital of his country, though he usually or occasionally resided in his "ancestral camp" Hārūppēçvara. But the circumstance which most strongly makes against the identification of Tyāga Simha with Çrī-Hariṣa, is the palæography of the Nowgong grant. The author of that grant, Bala Varman, is the fourth in descent from Harjara, and the fifth in descent from Pralambha, *i.e.*, about 100 years after the commencement of his dynasty, while Ratna Pāla, the author of the Bargāon grant, is first in descent from Brahmapāla, *i.e.*, perhaps 20

⁴ Except the Gauhaṭī grant, which, however, allows an "undefined period."

⁵ The term *Mlēccha* indicates a Non-Hindū, though the name Çāla Stambha has a distinctly Hindu (Sanskrit) ring; so have the other names of his dynasty. They may be *birudas* or laudatory names.

years after the beginning of his dynasty. It follows, therefore, that Bala Varman comes about 80 years after Ratna Pāla, and that palæographically the Nowgong grant should be later than the Bargāon grant. Their palæographic characters, however, indicate just the reverse. The identification of Tyāga Simha with Çri-Hariṣa, therefore, seems to me very doubtful; nor does it appear that there is any necessity for it. A more probable solution appears to me to be, that Çāla Stambha's dynasty ended with Çri-Hariṣa, and that it was succeeded by another foreign dynasty, which commenced with Pralambha and ended with Tyāga Simha, after whom the restoration of Naraka's dynasty, in the person of Brahma Pāla, took place. The Bargāon grant does not say that the 20 kings who followed Çāla Stambha were all of the same dynasty; on the other hand, twenty-one (including Çāla Stambha) is a sufficiently large number to accommodate two long dynasties. Moreover the Nowgong grant clearly indicates that a break or change of dynasty took place with Harjara (son of Pralambha).

Of Çāla Stambha's dynasty three other members are named: according to the Bargāon grant, Vighraha Stambha was the immediate successor (son?) of Çāla Stambha; and according to the Nowgong grant, there were two other members, named Pālaka and Vijaya, besides some more not named. It would seem that *Stambha* was the distinguishing name of this dynasty. The named members of it would be (1) Çāla Stambha, (2) Vighraha-Stambha, (3) Pālaka-Stambha, (4) Vijaya-Stambha, who were perhaps the first four of the dynasty; there were several others; the total number may have been ten, occupying a period from about 150 to 200 years.

Of Pralambha's dynasty, five other members, in direct filial succession, are named. According to the Tējpur grant, it would seem that Pralambha's son, by his wife Jivadā, was Harjara, whose son was Vanamāla. The Nowgong grant adds Jayamāla, Vīrabāhu and Bala Varman, being the son, grandson and great-grandson respectively of Vanamāla. These are the first six members of the dynasty. Their total number may well have been eleven, occupying again a period of about 150 to 200 years. And these eleven, together with the ten of the Çāla Stambha dynasty, would make up the series of twenty-one foreign kings, required by the Bargāon grant, antecedent to the restoration of the Pāla kings of Naraka's dynasty. There are two difficulties about this dynasty. The Tējpur grant seems to say distinctly that Pralambha belonged to Naraka's dynasty,⁶ and that

⁶ In verse 19 of the translation, Vanamāla, the son of Harjara, is also said to be "like the moon in the clear sky of the Naraka line." The original text has *kṣiti-tanaya-nṛpati-vamṣa* or 'the royal race of the son of the Earth.' Naraka is the "son of the Earth."

he was the father of Harjara. On the other hand, the Nowgong grant ignores Pralambha altogether, and commences the dynasty with Harjara. Nor is there any thing in the latter grant to connect him with Naraka's dynasty; on the contrary the non-Hindū sound of the name Harjara points to a foreigner. I am unable to suggest any satisfactory solution; but the weight of the evidence seems to me to be for both dynasties (Çāla Stambha's and Harjara's or Pralambha's) being those of foreign invaders, though they may have occasionally preferred a claim to belong to the ancient indigenous line of kings.

The Pāla dynasty distinctly put forward that claim in both the Bargāon and Gauhaṭi grants; though it may still remain a question whether the claim was well founded. I may here notice a correction. In the Gauhaṭi grant, Plate I, reverse, line 13, the puzzling name *Kaumra* should be *Bhauma* or 'Earth-born,' a name of Naraka. I may also notice, that the Bargāon grant distinctly states that Durjayā, which the Nowgong grant describes as a *nagarī* or 'townlet' and as the *vasati* or 'residence' of the king, received that name from Ratnapāla, who either founded it or made it into a fortified place, and fixed it as the residence of his dynasty. The fact that the Pāla kings resided in the fort of Durjayā, and the Harjara dynasty in the "ancestral camp" of Hārūppēçvara, while yet both dynasties called themselves "Lords of Prāggyōtiṣa," may perhaps justify the conclusion that in their time Prāggyōtiṣa, which was originally the name of a town, had become the name of a country.

Of Ratnapāla it is related that he came into hostile contact with the kings of Gurjara, Gaṇḍa, Kērala, and the Dekkan, and with the Bāhikas and Tāikas. Assuming that Ratnapāla's age has been rightly fixed at about 1010 to 1050 A.D., the king of Gurjara of that period would be the Western Cālukyan king Jayasimha III or Sōmēçvara I. By the Kērala king the Cōla Rājarāja is perhaps intended. The Gaṇḍa king may have been Mahipāla or Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. To whom the term "king of Dakṣiṇātya" or the Dekkan may refer, I do not know. The Bāhikas and Tāikas are generally taken to be Trans-Indus people, those of Balkh and the Tajiks. But, as will be seen from the next paragraph, the panegyrist probably only wished to parade his familiarity with Sanskrit literature, and further attempts at identification would be waste of labour.

There is again a curiosity to be noted in the Ratnapāla grants, similar to that in the Nowgong grant (see *ante*, Vol. LXVI, p. 288), the discovery of which is due to Dr. Th. Bloch, the Society's Honorary Philological Secretary. This is the existence of plagiarisms, or at least imitations, from Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita*. The following passages,

or clauses, may be compared, the references being to Tukaram Javaji's Bombay edition of 1892 (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press).

- (1). Bargāon Plate, line 34, *Gurjjar-ādhirāja-prajvārēṇa*, etc. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 132, *Hūṇa-hariṇa-kēsari Sindhu-rāja jvarō Gurjara-prajāgarō Gāndhār-ādhipa - gandha - dvīpa - kūṭa - pākalō Lāṭa-pāṭava-pāṭaccarō Mālava-lakṣmī-latā-paraçuh*.
- (2). Bargāon Plate, line 43, *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 104, *Vāsav-āvāsa iva (adhivāsaḥ)*.
- (3). Bargāon Plate, line 48, *Arjunō yaçasi Bhīmasēnō yudhi* (or Suālkucī Plate, l. 24, *Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*), &c. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 110, *Arjunō yaçasi Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*, etc.

Finally, I may add three corrections in the Gauhaṭī grant. The blundered phrase *bhūmya-pakṣa-ṣṭa* in II b⁶ should be *bhūmy-apakṣṣṭa*, as in the Bargāon grant l. 53; it means the 'inferior or non-arable land.' Also *vyāvahārika* in II b⁷ means 'officer': the whole passage in which it occurs should be translated as in the Bargāon grant. Again the phrase *mahiṣī-jātika* should be read, as in the Suālkucī grant, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika* 'buffalos, goats and sheep.'

TEXT.¹

First Plate : Reverse.

- 1 Svasti | ² Duṣṭē ³ vapu-vimv(b)akair=n=nakha=gatai⁴ svai⁵=n=nṛtya-sampad-vidhēḥ sō sa-çvēva⁶-gatim çubhām prakāṭayan=drçyō 'ni-
- 2 çan=tāṇḍavim | ēvaṁ yaḥ paramātma-vat=prṭhu-guṇ-ōddēhō ⁷ 'py=anēkī-nē ⁸-bhavan=prākāmyan=dadhad=ēva bhāti bhuvan-ē-
- 3 ças=tāt⁹=çriyē Çanḥkaraḥ || [1 ||] Mūrṭtā kim vahat=iha ¹⁰ çīta-kara-ru kim ¹² sphāṭikī-vidrutih kim ¹³=v=ādy-augha-vibhēdan-ai-
- 4 ka-niratā çakti⁴ çubhā Çanḥkari | yasy=āpāṇ-gatim=ity=avētya janatā yāyēta dhanyā drutam pāyāt=sa praṇiha-

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Çārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

³ One akṣara is here omitted; perhaps read *nirduṣṭair*.

⁴ Read *gataih*; l. 4, *çaktih*; l. 5, *ākṛtēḥ*; l. 10, *çrīḥ* and *guṇaḥ*; l. 12, *yaçah*; l. 13, *ātmajaḥ* and *ripuh*; l. 14, *kīrttih*.

⁵ Read *svair*.

⁶ Read *çvēta*. See note to translation.

⁷ *Uddēha* is not noted in any dictionary.

⁸ Read *anēkī-bhavan*; *nē* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *tat-çriyē* or rather *tac-chriyē*.

¹⁰ Read *iha*, m. c. (i.e., *vahati iha*).

¹² Read *kara-ruk=kim*.

¹³ Read *kim vā*.

- 5 tya sarvva-kaluṣam lauhitya-sindhur=jagat || [2 ||] ¹⁴ Dharām Harēr=
uddharataḥ kir-ākṛtē ⁴ payōdhi-magnā Nārakō ¹⁵ 'sur-ānsa-
- 6 ka ¹⁶ | sa sūnur-āçit ¹⁷=sura-yōṣid-anginī ¹⁸ çriyam ¹⁹=pratindūyitam ²⁰
=ēva yēna hi || [3 ||] Yaç ²¹=c=āval=ēti jarat=īti bhiyā-yut=ē-
- 7 ti mūḍh=ēti v(b)andhu-rahit=ēti vipad-gat=ēti | hitv=Āditīs × ²² vaji-
tya surān=ahārsit tat-ku-
- 8 ṇḍalēna ²³ sura-yaçō-mahaçī iv=āgryē | [4 ||] Kāntā-mukhair=
v=v(b)ahu-vidhāv ²⁴=iva vīra-vṛṇdais=tējasvibhī
- 9 ravi-gaṇān=iva sandadhānē | Prāggyōtisē ²⁵ 'vasad=asau pravārē
purāṇām dōr-dappa ²⁶-samcarāṇa-
- 10 cārutar-ārjjita-çri ⁴ || [5 ||] Yuddhē purātana it=iddha-guṇa ⁴ pit=
ēti yāvad=vicintya kṛpayā sa
- 11 cacāra mandam | tāvad=Dharis=tam =anaya ²⁷=divam=ātītānsōs ²⁸
=tējānsy ²⁹=ahō nu r ³⁰=iha nō gaṇan=ā-
- 12 sti v(b)andhau | [16 ||] Dhīras=tatas=tata-yaça ⁴-paṭa-guṇṭhi-āçō ³¹
yaç=c=āpir aktam=akarōd=bhuvanam guṇ-aughaiḥ | bhavyaḥ sa
bhūri-vibha-
- 13 vō Bhagadatta-nāmā tasy=ātmaja ⁴ kṣi ³²-dhurām v(b)ibharāñ=cakā-
ra || [7 ||] vajr=īva nirjjita-ripu ⁴ pṛthu-vajra-kāntiḥ sv-ōrjj-ārj-
javā-
- 14 rjjita-jagaj-jaya ³³-lav(b)dha-kīrtti ⁴ | rājyan=tad=āpa rucam=astam-
itē khar-āṅsau ³⁴ bhrātuh çikh=īva valavān=n=iha Vajra-dattaḥ

¹⁴ Metre: *Vam̐ca-sthāvila*.

¹⁵ Read *magnām narakō*. Perhaps the intended reading was *magnān narakō*.

¹⁶ Read *ām̐cakah*.

¹⁷ Read *āsīt*.

¹⁸ Read *ayginīm*.

¹⁹ Read *çriyam*.

²⁰ Perhaps read *pratindūyitam*, (i.e., *prati indūyitam*).

²¹ Metre of verses 4–8: *Vasanta-tilakā*; but the second half of verse 4 is out of order, its first pada having only 13, while its second pada has 15 instants.

²² This akṣara is illegible; there is also here one short instant wanting; perhaps read *Aditīm samavajitya*, or *Aditiçān=avajityā*.

²³ There is here one short instant in excess; read *kuṇḍalē*, omitting *na*.

²⁴ Read *vidhān*.

²⁵ Read *Prāggyōtisē*.

²⁶ Read *darppa*.

²⁷ Read *anayad*.

²⁸ Read *ātītāmsōs*.

²⁹ Read *tējāmsy*.

³⁰ Here *r* is inserted in order to avoid the hiatus *nu iha*.

³¹ Read *ām̐sō*

³² Here one short akṣara is omitted. Read *kṣiti*.

³³ Read *jaya*, and below, l. 30, *luṇṭana*, and l. 45, *ōdbhāsana*; omitting *l*.

³⁴ Read *kharām̐çau*.

- 15 || [8 ||] ³⁵ Ēvaṃ vaṇṇa ³⁶-kramēṇa khim ³⁷=atha nikhilāṃ bhuñjatā ³⁸
 nārakāṇām rājñā ³³ mlēcch-ādhināthō vidhi-calana-vaṇṇād=ēva ja-
 16 grāha rājyam | **Çālastambha** ³⁹ kramē 'sy=āpi hi narapatayō
Vigrahastambha-mukhyā vikhyātā ³⁹ samv(b)abhūvur=dvi-guṇi
⁴⁰-daṇṭatā
 17 samkhyayā samvibhinnā ³⁹ || [9 ||] ⁴¹Nirvvaṇṇam ⁴² nṛpam=ēkaviṃ-
 satitamam ⁴² çri-Tyāga-simh-āsīdhan ⁴³=tēṣām=vikhya ⁴⁴ divaṇ-
 gatam punar=a-

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 18 hō bhaumō hi nō yuyyatē ⁴⁵ [1] svām=iti ⁴⁶ pravacintya tat-prakṛtayō
 bhū-bhāra-rakṣā-kṣamam sāgandhyāt=paricakrivē narapa-
 19 ti ³⁹ çri-V(b)rahmapālam hi yam | [10 ||] Ēkō 'sau jītavān=rīpun ⁴⁷=
 samiti bhō ki ³⁹ nāma citra ³⁹ nidam ⁴⁸ atr=ōdāharaṇam Harō Ha-
 20 ri=ahō Bhīṣm-ādayō 'nē ⁴⁹ pi hī | itham ⁵⁰ samparimṛṣya yasya hi
 bhaṭā sthāna-sthitasya dviṣām dikṣv=aṣṭāsv=api vidra-
 21 vēṇa mahat=āçcaryan ⁵¹=sadā mēnirē || [11 ||] ⁵² Vibhava-phala-
 vilās-āsvāda-jāt-ābhilāṣa ⁵³ sa yuvatim=upayēmē j ⁵⁴= ā-
 22 nurāgā ⁵⁵ janēṣu | avani-kula-samutha ⁵⁶-kṣmāpa-samprātya ⁵⁷-lakṣ-
 myāḥ sthitam=iva kula-dēvī-nāmadhēyam=v(b)abhāra || [12 ||]

³⁵ Metre of verse 9 : *Sragdharā*.

³⁶ Read *vaṇṇa*.

³⁷ One short akṣara is wanting. Read *kṣitim*.

³⁸ Read *bhuñjatām* and *rājñām*.

³⁹ Read *Çālastambhaḥ*, and *vikhyātāḥ*; l. 17, *samvibhinnāḥ*; l. 19, *narapatim*, *kim* and *citrām*.

⁴⁰ One akṣara is wanting. Read *dviḡuṇita*.

⁴¹ Metre of verses 10 and 11 : *Çārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

⁴² Read *nirvvaṇṇam* and *ēkaviṃṣatitamam*.

⁴³ Read *ābhīdhan*.

⁴⁴ Read *tēṣām vikṣya*.

⁴⁵ Read *yuyyatē* or *yūyatē*.

⁴⁶ Read *svām=iti*.

⁴⁷ Read *rīpun* or *rīpūn*.

⁴⁸ Read *nīdām* or *nīdam* (i.e., *nu idam*).

⁴⁹ Read *'nyē* (for *anyē*).

⁵⁰ Read *ittham*.

⁵¹ Read *āçcaryam*.

⁵² Metre : *Mālinī*.

⁵³ Read *ābhilāṣaḥ*; l. 27, *ānubhāvāḥ*.

⁵⁴ Read *yē*.

⁵⁵ Read *nurāgāj* (i.e., *yā anurāgāj = janēṣu*).

⁵⁶ Read *samuttho*.

- 23 ⁶⁸ Ratn-ōpamā narapati ⁵⁹ sva-guṇair=m=mah-ārhan=yah pālayēd=
iti janair=avagamyā samyak | nītaḥ prasiddhim=iha tē-
24 na sa-kirttanēna ṣri-Ratnapāla iti sūnur=ajāyat=āsyām ⁶⁰ || [13 ||]
Durvvāra-vairi-kari-kumbha-bhidā-bhav-āsra-srōtō-va-
25 h-āhati-calat-kari-muktikābhiḥ [1] yad-yuddha-bhūr=v=vipaṇi-vad=
dhata-pādma-rāgī ṣōbhōta ⁶¹
26 vīra-vaṇijā ⁶² nikarai ⁶² prakīrṇā || [14. ||] Simhāsanē 'thā ⁶³ Narak-
ānvaya-j-āv(b)ja-bhānu ⁶⁴ samvēṣya ⁶⁵
27 tām ⁶⁶ divam=agād=a-kalaṅka-gaṇḍaḥ | kāl-ōcitam vicaritam hi mah-
ānubhāvā ⁶⁸ samvidri-
28 tē ⁶⁷ hi guṇa-dōṣa-vidō bhavasya || [15] ⁶⁸ Niṣit-āsi-marīci-mañjarī-
jaṭila-bhuja-v(b)ala-vi-
29 jita-narapati-sat ⁶⁹-ōpāyanī-kṛta-sa-mada-gaja-ghaṭā-kaṭa-syāndi ⁷⁰-
dān-ām v(b)u-ṣikar-āsā-
30 ra-samupaṣamita-santāpam sakal-āri-kaṭaka-luṭṭanal ³³-lampāta-su-
bhata-v(b)āhu-viṭap-āṭavi-
31 samkaṭam=api mahājana-nivāsa-yōgyam ⁶⁰ | sa-mada-sundarī-smita-
sudhā-dhavalita-saudha-ṣi-
32 khara-sahasr-ānta-hṛta ⁷¹-taraṇi-maṇḍalam | Malay-ācala-sthali ⁷²-
ruha-kānanam=iv=ānēka-bhōgi ⁷³-ṣata-sēvitam ⁶⁰ | nabhō-
33 vat=sēv-āvāpta-v(b)udha-guru-kāvya-ālaṅkāram | kailāsa-giri-ṣikha-
ram=iva paramēṣvar-ādhisthānam ⁶⁰ | Vittēṣa-nivēṣita-
34 ñ=ca | yac=ca Ṣaka-kriḍā-ṣani ⁷⁴-dr̥ḍha-pañjarēṇa Gurjjar-ādhirāja-
prajārēṇa ⁷⁵ dur-d danta ⁷⁶-Gaudēndra-kari-kūṭa-pākalēna

67 Read *samprāpya*.

68 Metre of verses 13-15: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

69 Read *ratnōpamō narapatiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

60 Read final *m* for *ṁ*. Also read *ādhisthānam*.

61 Read *ṣōbhēta*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

62 Read *vaṇijām nikaraiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

63 Read *'tha*.

64 Read *bhānum*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

65 Read *samvēṣya*.

66 Read *tām*.

67 Read *samvidratē*.

68 From here prose.

69 Read *ṣat*.

70 Read *syāndi*.

71 Probably read *antar-hita*.

72 Read *sthalī*.

73 Read *bhōgi*.

74 Read *ṣakuni*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

75 Read *prajvārēṇa*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

76 Read *dānta*.

- 35 Kēral-ēṣ-ācalā-ṣilājatunā V(b)āhika-Tāik-āttan̄ka⁷⁷-kāriṇā dākṣiṇā-
tya-kṣōṇi-pati-rājajanmaṇā⁷⁸ kṣa-
36 pit-ārāti-pakṣatayā kṣitipa-vakṣah-kavāṭa-patēn=ēva prākārēṇ=
āvṛta-prāntham⁷⁹=unmada-kala-hansa⁸⁰-kāmini-ku-
37 la⁸¹-kuṇita-pēṣala-marun-mand-āndōlit-ōrmmi-ṣikarair=upaṣamit-
āpāvṛta-sandha-ṣikhar-ādhirūḍha-sundarī-sura-

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 38 t-ōtsav-āyāsēna kailāsa-kari-dukula⁸²-kadalikā-patē⁸³ nēka-nākēṣa-
kāmini-vibhrama-maṇi-darppanē-
39 na Lauhity-āmbhōdhinā virājamānam⁶⁰ | mānanīyam=anēka-**mana-**
ka⁸⁴-pati-sārthānam yathārth-ābhidhānam
40 Prāgyōtiṣ-ēṣa⁸⁵-durjay-ākhyā-puram=adhyuvāsa | yatra ca jadatā
hāra-yaṣṭiṣu n=ēndriyēṣu cañcalatā hari-
41 ṣu na mānasēṣu bhāṅguratā bhruvi bhramēṣu na pratipannēṣu
s-ōpasarggatā dhātuṣu na prajāsu vāmatā kāmi-
42 niṣu skhalitam madhu-mada-mudita-kāmini-gatiṣu nisprhatā dōṣa-
kāriṣu niratyaya-madhu-pān-āṣaktir⁸⁶=m=ma-
43 dhu-kāra-kara⁸⁷-kulēṣu atyantam priy⁸⁸-ānuvarttanam rathāṅga-
nāmasu piṣit⁸⁹-āṣitā ṣvāpadēṣu tatra Vāsav-āvā-
44 sa-sparddhini⁹⁰ vidhur=iva vivarddhita-ṣila-vēlā-jaladhi-maṇḍalah
satru⁹¹-saras-ādarṣita-padm-āpahāraṣ=ca mārta-
45 ṇḍa iya bhū-bhṛc-chirō-nivēṣita-pādaḥ kamal-ākar-ōdbhāsanal⁸³-
lāṣaṣ⁹²=ca paramēṣva-

77 Read *bāhika-tāyik-ātan̄ka* or *bāhlika-tāyik-ātan̄ka*.78 Read *yakṣmaṇā*.79 Read *prāntam*.80 Read *hansa*.81 In the original *kula* is only just traceable, but in the Suālkucī grant it is distinct.82 Read *dukūla*.83 Probably read *patēn = anēka-*84 Perhaps read *mānaka*.85 Read *Prāgyōtiṣ-ēṣa*.86 Read *āsaktir*. In the original the first *ā* of *pānāṣakti* is cancelled; but the real intention may have been to cancel the second *ā*; for *pāna-sakti* would give the same meaning.87 Cancel *kara*.88 Read *priy*.89 Read *piṣit*.90 Read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*.91 Read *ṣatru*.92 Read *lāṣaṣ*.

- 46 rō'pi Kāmarūp-ānandi⁹³ Bhaum-ānvayō 'py=ullāsita-dānav-āriḥ
puruṣ-ōttamō 'py=a-da-
- 47 nārddanō⁹⁴ vīrō 'pi mattēha⁹⁵-gāmī yasā⁹⁶ ca Manmath-ōnmātbi-
rūpam tiraskṛt-āmbhōdhi-
- 48 gāmbhīryam jagad-vijay-āçansi⁹⁶-vīryam Skand-āskandi-vīryam.
yaç=c=Ārjunō yaçasi⁹⁷ Bhī-
- 49 masēnō yudhi Kṛtāntaḥ krudhi Dāvānalō vipakṣa-vīrudhi Çaçā-
dharō vidyā-nabhasi Ma-
- 50 lay-ānilaḥ su-janu-sumanasi Sūryō 'ri-tamasi Uday-ācalō mitr-ōd-
gama-sampadi ya⁹⁸ |
- 51 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çrī-V(b)rahmapāla-varmma-dēva-pād-ānudhyā-
ta-paramēçvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakō
- 52 mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ çrī-Ratnapā⁹⁹-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçalī || ❖ ||
Uttara-kūlē trayōdaça-grāma-viṣay-āntaḥpāti-Vā-
- 53 madēva-pātak-āpakṛṣṭa-bhūmi-samēta-lābu-kuṭi-kṣētrā¹⁰⁰ dhānya-
dvi-sahasr-ōtpattika-bhūmau | yathāyatham samupasthi-
- 54 ta-v(b)rāhmaṇ-ādi-viṣaya-karaṇa-vyāvahārika-pramukha-jānapadān
rāja-rājñī-rāṇak-ādhiḥkṛtān=anyān=api rā-
- 55 janaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛtin yathā-kāla-bhāvinō'pi
sarvvān mānanā=pūrvvakam¹⁰¹ samādiçati viditam=a-
- 56 [stu] bhavatām bhūmir=iyam¹⁰²=vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-jala-gōpracār-
āvaskar-ādy-upētā yathā-samsthā sva-sim-ōddēça-paryantā
- 57 hasti-v(b)andha-naukā-v(b)andha-caur-ōddharaṇa-daṇḍa-pāç-ōpari-
kara-nānā-nivitt¹⁰³-ōtkhēṭana-hasty-açv-ōṣṭra-gō-mahiṣ-āj-āti-

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 58 ka¹⁰⁴-pracāra-prabhṛtinām¹⁰²=vinivārīta-sarvva-piḍā çāsani-kṛtya |
Pārāsarō 'bhūd=bhuvi Dēvadattaḥ Kā-
- 59 nṽō 'grajō Vājasanēyak-āgryaḥ | āsādya yam¹⁰²=vēda-vidām par-
ārdhiam trayyā kṛt-ārthāyitam=ēva samya-

93 Read *ānandī*.

94 So also the *Suālkuci* grant ; but read *ajanārddanō*.

95 Read *mattēbha*.

96 Read *yasya*.

97 Read *āçansi* and *yaçasi*.

98 Read *ca*. *Ya* may be a Prākṛit form, if it is not simply a clerical error.

99 Read *Ratnapāla*.

100 The reading is false ; perhaps read *kṣētrāyām*, agreeing with *bhūmau*.

101 Read *pūrvvakam*.

102 Read *iyam* ; l. 58, *prabhṛtinām*, and l. 59, *yam*.

103 Read *nivitt*.

104 Read *āvika*, as in the *Suālkuci* grant.

- 60 k ॥ [1 ॥] Agny-āhitas=tasya v(b)abhūva sūnuḥ Sadgaṅgadattō¹⁰⁵
 guṇa-çila-çālī [1] yaṁ vikṣya ṣaṭ-karma-rataṁ dvijēṣaṁ¹⁰⁶
- 61 Bhrgv-ādiṣu pratyayitō jan-aughaḥ ॥ [2] Çyāmāyikā tasya v(b)a-
 bhūva patnī pati-vratā çila-guṇ-ōpannā¹⁰⁷ | ugrēndu-
- 62 lēkh=ēva virājatē yā viçuddha-rūpā tamasō nihantrīm¹⁰⁸ ॥ [3 ॥]
 Āsyām¹⁰⁹=abhūc=chāstra-vidām dhurīṇas=trastraḥ¹¹⁰ su-
- 63 tō 'ghāt khalu Viradattaḥ | yaṁ prāpya dharmm-āçrayam=ugra-
 v(b)uddhim kālaḥ kalir=nyak-kṛta-vad=v(b)abhūva ॥ [4 ॥] Saṁ-
 krāntau
- 64 Vipṇupadyāñ¹¹¹=ca pañca-vimç-āv(b)da-rājyakē | tasmai dattā mayā
 pitrōr=yaçah-puṇyā-
- 65 ya c=ātmanam¹¹² ॥ [5 ॥] Sīmā pūrvvēṇa vṛhad-ālyām çālmali-
 vṛkṣaḥ | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna rū-
- 66 ṣi-gaṇa-pāṭhi-nau-simni khara-taṭa-stha-çālmali-vṛkṣaḥ ॥ dakṣiṇēna
 tan-nau-simni
- 67 v(b)adarī-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-paçcimēna ta¹¹³-nau-simni kāçimv(b)ala-
 vṛkṣaḥ | paçcimēna
- 68 khara-taṭa-sth-āçvatha-vṛkṣaḥ | paçcima-ga | uttara-ga-vakrēṇa
 āli¹¹⁴ | kāçimv(b)a-
- 69 lā¹¹⁵-vṛkṣaç=ca | paçcim-ōttarēna kṣētr-ālyām hijjala-vṛkṣaḥ | pūrv-
 va-ga | uttara-ga-va-
- 70 krēṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | çālmali-vṛkṣau | punaḥ pūrvva-ga-dakṣiṇa-ga-
 vakrēṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | kāçimv(b)ala-vṛkṣau | ki-
- 71 ñ-cit-pūrvva-ga | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrēṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | çālmali-vṛkṣau |
 uttarēṇa vṛhad-ālyām kāçimv(b)ala-vṛ-
- 72 kṣaḥ | uttara-pūrvvēṇa vṛhad-ālyām vētasa-vṛkṣaç=c=ēti ॥

The Seal.

- 1 Svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipati-
 2 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çri-Ratna-
 3 pāla-varmma-dēvaḥ ॥

¹⁰⁵ Read *Sadgaṅgādattō*.

¹⁰⁶ Read *dvijēṣu*, the anusvāra is nearly obliterated. Perhaps it might also be intended for *dvijēçam*.

¹⁰⁷ Read *ōpāpannā*.

¹⁰⁸ Read *nihantrī*.

¹⁰⁹ Omit the anusvāra.

¹¹⁰ Read *trastaḥ*. The second *r*, however, appears to be slightly obliterated.

¹¹¹ Read *Viṣṇupadyāñ*.

¹¹² Read *ātmanah*.

¹¹³ Read *tan*.

¹¹⁴ Read either *āliḥ* or *āli*. There is in the original plate a trace of the long *i* in line 11.

¹¹⁵ Read *kāçimbala*.

TRANSLATION.

(FIRST PLATE: line 1) Hail!

(Verse 1.) “He may be seen incessantly exhibiting his beautiful white figure,¹ in the Tāṇḍava (dance) according to the strict rules of that dance, (guided) by the stainless reflection of his body formed on his own nails: even thus does Çaṅkara (or Çiva), who, though like the Supreme Being he is endowed with the quality of omnipresence (lit., expansion), assumes numberless forms at his absolute will, shine forth as the Lord of the World for the sake of the welfare of that (world).

(2.) “What? Is it that here flows the light of the white rays (of the moon) in congelation, or a solution of crystals; or is it that the beautiful Çaṅkarī (or female counterpart of Çiva) and his Çaktī (or energy) is intently engaged in marking quick-time music in its primeval form?”² It may be with such musings as these about the nature of its water that the happy population (of the country) quickly resorts to that river Lauhitya (or Brahmaputra), which by removing all sins protects the world.

(Verse 3.) Of Hari (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu) who, in the form of a boar, raised the earth when she had sunk beneath the ocean, Naraka of the Asura (or demon) race was the son, who acted the very part of the moon to the personal charms of the ladies of the Suras (or gods);³

(4.) Who, declaring Aditi to be a woman, weak, decrepit, timid, stupid, deserted by her kinsmen, and overtaken by misfortune, conquered the Suras, and snatched away her ear-rings which were precious as being typical of the glory of the Suras.

(5.) In Prāggyōtiṣa, the best of towns, provided with brilliant troops of warriors like systems of suns, and lovely-faced women of many kinds, he took up his residence, after he had acquired prosperity, equal in pleasantness to the pride of his arms.

(6.) “I am grown too old (to engage) in war, and my father will gain a brilliant reputation,” bethinking himself thus, out of kindly consideration, he lived carelessly: so Hari removed him to heaven.

¹ The reading *sōsaçvēva* appears to be corrupt, and I can make nothing satisfactory of it. The Suālkucī grant here fails to help. I have taken *sō* as prakritic for *sa*; compare *ante*, line 50, *ya*, footnote 97.

² Or, as Dr. Bloch suggests, it may be translated: “intently engaged in dividing the original current,” of the heavenly Ganges in Çiva’s matted hair according to the well-known mythological story.

³ The moon beholds the charms of the Apsarases; so did Naraka, of whom it is related that he “seized the daughters of the Gandharvas and of gods and men, as well as the Apsarases themselves.” See Dowson’s Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, *sub voce* Naraka. Suggestion of Dr. Bloch.

Alas! for one who is keenly desirous of glory there is truly in this world no counting of kinship.⁴

(7.) Then his wise son, **Bhagadatta** by name, whose shoulder was girt with the mantle of far-reaching glory, and who by the multitude of his good qualities won the affections of the (whole) world, carried upon himself the burden (of the government) of the country with propriety and much prosperity.

(8.) Then the mighty **Vajradatta**, having like Vajrin (*i.e.*, Indra), conquered his enemies, being in beauty like a large diamond, and enjoying the reputation of having achieved the conquest of the world through his own honesty and energy, obtained that kingdom of his brother, just as fire (attains) brilliancy on the setting of the sun.⁵

(9.) After thus, for several generations, kings of Naraka's dynasty had ruled the whole country, a great chief of the Mlecchas, owing to a turn of (adverse) fate, took possession of the kingdom. (This was) **Çālastambha**. In succession to him also there were chiefs, altogether twice ten (*i.e.*, twenty) in number, who are well-known as **Vigraha-stambha** and the rest.

(10.) Seeing that the twenty-first of them, the illustrious chief **Tyāga Simha**⁶ by name, had departed to heaven without (leaving) any of his race (to succeed him),

(Second Plate: obverse:) his subjects, thinking it well that a **Bhauma** (*i.e.*, one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, chose **Brahmapāla**, from among his kindred, to be their king on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country.⁷

⁴ Naraka is said to have been slain by Kṛṣṇa, who is an incarnation of Viṣṇu or Hari. The latter was Naraka's father: hence the father slew his son. The poet represents this as a sort of voluntary sacrifice on the part of Naraka, who feeling himself too old for his accustomed warlike exploits, purposely, *i.e.*, out of consideration for his father, lived in a careless fashion in order to afford his father an opportunity of slaying him, so that his father (Viṣṇu) might have the reputation of having slain the much-feared demon Naraka. The poet, however, cannot refrain from adding a word of disapproval of Viṣṇu's conduct in setting aside the claims of kinship for the sake of earning a reputation. This explanation was substantially suggested to me by Dr. Bloch.

⁵ There is here a play on the word *vajra*, which means both 'the thunderbolt and 'a diamond.' Indra is called *vajrin*, or 'the wielder of *vajra* or 'the thunder bolt;' and Vajradatta or 'the gift of Vajra' is said to be as beautiful as a *vajra* or 'diamond.'

⁶ The meaning apparently is that the whole series consisted of 21 members *viz.*, Çālastambha, 19 others, and Tyāga Simha. It is not clear whether the name of the last king is *Çrī-tyāga* or *Tyāga*.

⁷ Verses 10 and 11 are two relative sentences (with *yam* and *yasya*) dependent on the demonstrative *sa* in verse 12.

(11.) “Single-handed he overcame his enemy in battle: why indeed should this appear strange to his detractors, (seeing that) on this point Hara and Hari are examples, and Bhīṣma and indeed many others besides.” Thus arguing, his warriors have always thought very highly of (the conduct of) their home-staying (king), seeing that his enemies fled away in all eight directions.⁸

(12.) His desire being stimulated by the taste of the joys due to his prosperity, he married a young woman who by reason of her devotion to her people bore the name of Kuladēvī, which is, as it were, the standing name for Lakṣmī (or ‘good fortune’) attainable by (all) rulers sprung from any (noble) family of the world.⁹

(13.) By him, who had such a reputation, was begotten on her a son called Ratnapāla, who gained renown because his people justly concluded that a jewel-like king would, by his good qualities, foster the most worthy among them.¹⁰

(14.) By reason of the elephants’ pearls, carried forth by the impetus of the unrestrainable stream of blood running from the split foreheads of the elephants of his enemies,¹¹ his (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla’s) battle-field looked beautiful like a market-place strewn with the stores of merchants, and ruby-coloured through (the blood of) the slain.¹²

(15.) Then having placed him (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla) on the throne to be to the dynasty of Naraka what the sun is to the lotuses, he (*i.e.*, Brahmapāla), the spotless champion, went to heaven; for noble-minded men who know the good and the evil of the world know to do that which is suitable to the occasion.¹³

(Second Plate: obverse: line 28: Prose.) In his capital, the heat (of the weather) was relieved by the copious showers of ruttish water flowing from the temples of his troops of lusty (ware-)elephants which had been presented to him by hundreds of kings conquered by the power of his arms entwined in clusters of flashes of his sharp sword. Though

⁸ Brahmapāla appears to have been of a mild and peaceable disposition; and this is the way that the poets expresses that fact. His son Ratnapāla formed the strongest contrast to him, being a very strong and warlike ruler, with a very long reign.

⁹ There is here a play on the word *kula* or ‘(good) family’. *Kula-dēvī* means a (goddess or) queen of good family or of all good families.

¹⁰ There is here a play on the word *ratna* or ‘jewel.’ A *ratna-upama* or ‘jewel like’ prince may be expected to become a *ratna-pāla* or ‘jewel-protecting’ king.

¹¹ This refers to the well-known Indian fable of certain pearls which are found in the frontal protuberances of certain elephants.

¹² Both grants read *pādmaraḡī*. The correct form, however, would seem to be *pādmaraḡā*.

¹³ The emendation *saṁvidratē* was suggested by Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri.

(that capital) was crowded with a dense forest, as it were, of arms of his brave soldiers who were hankering after the plunder of the camps of all his enemies, yet was it fit to be inhabited by wealthy people (merchants.) (In it) the disk of the sun was hid¹⁴ (from view) by the thousands of plastered turrets which are rendered still whiter by the nectar-like¹⁵ smiles of the love-drunk fair damsels (standing on them). It was frequented by many hundreds of well-to-do people¹⁶, just as a forest planted on the heights of the Malaya mountains (is frequented) by snakes. It is adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets who have made it their place of resort, just as the sky is adorned by Mercury, Jupiter and Venus.¹⁷ It resembles the summit of mount Kailāsa in being the residence of the Paramēṣvara (*i.e.*, supreme ruler, or Ṣiva, the supreme God), and in being inhabited by a Vittēṣa (*i.e.*, a master of wealth, or Kuvēra the God of wealth).¹⁸ Like the cloth which protects the king's broad chest, its boundaries were encompassed by a rampart, furnished with a fence strong like that used for the game-birds of the Ṣakas, fit to cause chagrin to the king of Gurjara, to give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the chief of Gauḍa, to act like bitumen in the earth to the lord of Kērala, to strike awe into the Bāhikas and Tāikas, to cause discomfiture (lit., pulmonary consumption) to the master of the Deccan country; and generally to serve for the purpose of discomfiting the (king's) enemies. It is rendered beautiful by the river Lauhitya which gives relief to the fair damsels, that after the exertion of sexual enjoyment ascend to the retirement of their stuccoed turrets, by the spray of its current gently wafted up by the breeze charmingly resonant with the prattle of the flocks of love-drunk females of the Kala-hamsa ducks;

(Second Plate: reverse:) and which (river) also resembles the cloth of the finely wrought flags carried by the elephants of Kailāsa, and

¹⁴ I have adopted the reading *antarhita* in my translation (see text, note 71). The original reads *anta-hṛta*, which would mean 'obstructed by the ends' (or points) of the thousands of pinnacles.

¹⁵ There is here a verbal conceit in the original which is untranslatable. *Saudha* means 'plastered,' and *sudhā* means both 'nectar' and 'whitewash.'

¹⁶ There is here a complicated verbal conceit, which cannot be exactly translated. *Bhōgin* means both a 'well-to-do, pleasure-loving man' and 'a snake.' The Malaya mountains, with its fragrant breezes, will suit the former, while the forest will suit the latter.

¹⁷ Here is again a verbal conceit: *budha* means both 'a learned man' and 'Mercury;' *guru* both 'a religious preceptor' and 'Jupiter,' and *kāvya* both 'a poet' and 'Venus.' The capital was to the men, what the sky is to the planets.

¹⁸ There is here an obvious play on the words *paramēṣvara* and *vittēṣa* which are epithets of the king as well as of a god.

the jewelled mirrors used in their coquetries by the numerous females (*i.e.*, the Apsarases) of the lord of heaven (*i.e.*, Indra). It is an object of respect to merchants who are the owners of numerous (kinds of) wares. Such is the town in which the lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa took up his residence and which he called by the appropriate name of the 'Impregnable one' (*durjaya*). Here dulness might be observed in necklaces, but not in the senses (of the inhabitants); fickleness in apes, but not in their minds; changefulness in the motions of the eyebrows, but not in promises; accidents (happening) to things,¹⁹ but not to the subjects. Here capriciousness might be seen (only) in women; reeling (only) in the gait of women excited with the (tender) intoxication of spring-tide²⁰; covetousness (only) in evil-doers; safe addiction to the sipping of honey (only) in swarms of bees; exceeding devotion to love (only) in Brahmany ducks (*Anas Casarca*); and eating of flesh (only) in wild beasts.²¹ In that town, which emulated the residence of Vāsava (*i.e.*, Indra)²², the king, who resembles the moon in that he makes his virtues to wax, as the moon makes the tides of the encircling ocean to wax, and in that he causes his enemies to experience the deprivation of their wealth, as the moon causes the ponds to experience the deprivation of their lotuses²³; and who resembles the sun in that he makes his feet to rest on the heads of his enemies, as the sun makes his rays to rest on the summits of the mountains,²⁴ and in that he delights in making his copper-mines lucrative, as the sun makes the lotus-ponds brilliant²⁵: who, being a Paramēçvara (or paramount sovereign), takes pleasure in (the country of) Kāmarūpa; who, though being of the Bhauma (*i.e.*, of Naraka's) race, delights in being the enemy of the Dānavas (or demons); who, being a *Puruṣōttama* or 'perfect man,' does not act as a *Janārdana*²⁶

¹⁹ There is a double meaning in *s-ōpasargatū dhātuṣu* which may be also translated 'the prefixing of prepositions (*upasarga*) to verbal roots (*dhātu*).'

²⁰ *Madhu-mada* might also mean 'intoxication with wine.'

²¹ I have inserted "only," because probably oppositions are intended here just as in the preceding passage. Thus "capriciousness in women but not in men;" "reeling in love-drunk women but not in wine-drunk men;" "covetousness in evil-doers but not in other citizens;" "eating of flesh in wild beasts but not in men;" etc.

²² I propose to read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*. The Suālkucī grant reads *Vāsav-āsparddhini*.

²³ *Padma* is the lotus which closes at night, but it also signifies the wealth of Kuvēra, and hence 'wealth' generally.

²⁴ *Pāda* means both 'a foot' and 'a ray;' and *bhū-bhṛt* means both 'a king' and 'a mountain.'

²⁵ *Kamal-ākara* means both 'a lotus-pond' and 'a copper-mine.'

²⁶ There is here an untranslatable play on the words *puruṣōttama* and *janārdana*. Both are epithets of *Viṣṇu*, who is called *puruṣōttama* or 'the best of men,' but also

(or troubler of his subjects); who, though being a valiant man, walks (leisurely) like an elephant: whose figure is such as to outdo Manmatha (or the god of love); whose profundity such as to put into the shade the ocean; whose intelligence²⁷ such as to be a guarantee of the conquest of the world; whose valour such as to surpass Skanda (or the god of war): who is an Arjuna in fame, a Bhīmasēna in war, a Kṛtānta (or god of death) in wrath, a forest-conflagration in destroying his plant-like adversaries:²⁸ who is the moon in the sky of learning, the (sweet) breeze of the Malaya mountains in the midst of the jasmine-like²⁹ men of good birth, the sun in eclipsing his enemies, the mountain of the East³⁰ in the successful advancement of his friends: this king, the *Paramēṣvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Ratnapāla** Varma-dēva, who meditates at the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Brahmapāla** Varma-dēva, may he prosper.

(Second Plate: reverse; line 52.) With reference to the land producing two thousand (measures of) rice, and the fields with the clusters of gourds, together with the inferior land of the hamlet of Vāmadēva, (the whole) situated on the northern bank (of the Brahmaputra), within the district of the "Thirteen Villages," the king sends his greetings and commands to all and several who reside (there): to the

janārdana or 'the troubler of men,' because he excites or agitates them. The king, on the contrary, is declared to be a *puruṣōttama*, but not a *janārdana*. There is, in fact, a verbal conceit involved, in every one of the phrases descriptive of the king. Thus *paramēṣvara* is an epithet of Śiva who is an ascetic and takes no pleasure in *kāma-rūpa* (or attractive things); the king, on the contrary, though he is a *paramēṣvara*, or rather because he is *paramēṣvara* or 'supreme ruler,' takes pleasure in *Kāma-rūpa* (his country). Again Naraka was himself a Dānava, but the king, though of Naraka's race, delights in being an enemy of the Dānavas. But the word *dānavāri* may also be divided into *dāna* or 'gift,' and *vāri* or 'water,' i.e., the water, the out-pouring of which is symbolical of the grant of a gift. In that case the passage means that the king, though of Naraka's (i.e., of Dānava) race, yet delights in giving presents to Brāhmins.

²⁷ I propose to read *dhīryam*, because *vīryam* recurs immediately in the following sentence. *V* and *dh* are apt to be confounded in writing.

²⁸ There is an untranslatable conceit in the word *vīrudhi*, which may also be spelt *virudhi*. Spelt *vīrudh*, the word means 'a plant;' spelt *virudh*, it means 'stopping.' With the latter spelling, the passage would mean that the king is like a forest-fire in stopping his enemies.

²⁹ *Sumanas* may be any flower, but especially the sweet-scented *Jasminum grandiflorum*. The Malaya mountains were famous for their breezes laden with the sweet scent of their fauna. The king, in the midst of his flower-like aristocracy, wafts, as it were, their sweet scent over the country.

³⁰ There is a verbal conceit in *mitrōdgama* which may also mean 'the rising of the sun;' that is, what the eastern mountains are to the rising sun, that the king is to the advancement of his friends.

(common) people of the Brāhman and other castes, headed by the district revenue officers and their clerks, as well as to the other (higher-class) people, such as the Rājanakas, Rājaputras, Rājavallabhas, etc., and above them the Rāṇakas, Rājñis, and Rājas; and, in fact, to all who may reside there in future at any time.

Be it known to you, that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc., of whatever kind it may be, inclusive of any place within its borders, and freed from all worries on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishments, the tenant's taxes, the imposts for various causes, and the pasturing of animals, such as elephants, horses, camels, cattle, buffalos, goats and sheep, as set forth in this charter:—³¹

(Third Plate: line 58: verse 1.) There was a Brāhman in the land, Dēvadatta, of the Pārāsara Gōtra and the Kāṇva çākḥā; a leader among the Vājasaneyakas, whom on having found to be the foremost vedic scholar, the Vēdas, in their threefold division³², felt themselves satisfied.

(2.) He had a son, Sadgaṅgādatta, richly endowed with (every) virtue, who ever kept the holy fire burning (in his house), and at the sight of whose devotion to the six holy duties³³ a multitude of people were established in their faith in the whole body of Brāhmans from Bhṛgu downwards.

(3.) He had a wife, Çyāmāyikā, devoted to her husband and endowed with (every) virtue, who shines like the streak (crescent or quarter) of the moon, pure in form and dispelling the darkness.

(4.) From her was born a son, Vīradatta, a leader among the learned in the Çāstras, and fearful of (committing) any offence, on the experience of whose deep-seated piety and formidable intellect the Kali age felt, as it were, humbled.

(5.) To him, on the Viṣṇupadī Saṅkrānti,³⁴ in the twenty-fifth year of my reign, (this land) is given by me for the sake of the good and the glory of my father and of myself.

³¹ The sentence which breaks off here, is resumed below in verse 5.

³² Referring either to the three Vēdas, or to the three vedic sciences of hymn, sacrifice and song. The reading *ākṛt-ārthāyitam*, however, is not quite intelligible to me.

³³ The six duties are: studying and teaching the Vēdas, offering sacrifices and conducting them for others, giving and receiving gifts.

³⁴ There are four of these; viz., the instants of the sun's entrance into the four Hindū signs *vṛṣa* (taurus), *simha* (leo), *vṛścika* (scorpion) and *kumbha* (aquarius) which are also the beginnings for the four months *Jyēṣṭha*, *Bhādrapada*, *Mārgaçirṣa* and *Phālguna*. The first of these is probably intended here.

(Its) boundaries (are as follows): On the east, the Çālmali-tree³⁵ on the big dike; on the south-east, the Çālmali-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river Brahmaputra) by the anchorage of the boats for the Pāṭhī fish of the Rūṣi-class;³⁶ on the south the Badarī-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the south-west the Kāçimbala-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the west the Āçvatha-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river); at the bend to the north-west, the dike of the fields, as well as a Kāçimbala-tree; on the north-west the Hijjala-tree on the dike of the fields; at the bend to the east and north, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; further at the bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Kāçimbala-trees; at the slight bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; on the north, the Kāçimbala-tree on the big dike; and on the north-east, a Vētasa-tree on the big dike.

The Seal.

Hail! The lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, the illustrious Ratnapāla Varma Dēva.

II. THE SUĀLKUCĪ GRANT.

This grant and its seal exactly resemble the Gauhaṭī and Bargāon grants, as may be seen from the photographs (Plates XII and XIII). The plates measure $12\frac{1}{6}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches and are protected by a slightly raised rim on all four sides. The seal measures $4\frac{3}{16}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The grant is in a rather bad state of preservation. Originally there were three plates. The first plate is missing, and consequently the inscription on the outer (or obverse side) of the second plate has greatly suffered from corrosion. In addition, there has been applied much injudicious cleaning, before the plates were placed in my hands, in consequence of which the inscription throughout the grant has been rendered very difficult of decipherment. In fact, it would have been impossible to fully decipher it, but for the help afforded by the Bargāon grant, with the greater part of which happily the Suālkucī grant is

³⁵ The trees here mentioned are: Çālmali, *Bombax malabaricum*; Badarī, *Zizyphus Jujuba* or Jujube tree; Kāçimbala, an inferior kind of Çimbala, which I cannot identify; Āçvatha, *Ficus religiosa*; Hijjala, *Barringtonia acutangula*; Vētasa, *Calamus Rotang*.

³⁶ The *pāṭhī* is a kind of sheat-fish (*Silurus Pelorius*), also called *pāṭhīna*, and in Baṅgālī *rōyāl*. The term *rūṣi* I cannot identify; it might be connected with Sanskrit *rōhiṣa*.

identical. The only difference appears to be in the statements referring to the land and the person to whom the land was granted.

The two sides of the first (originally second) plate have 19 lines each. The second (originally third) plate has 7 lines. The inscription on the obverse of the former plate probably commenced with the word *phala* on l. 21 of the obverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The reverse of that plate commences with the word [*pri-*] *yānuvarttanam*, the syllable *pri* being at the end of the obverse side; and this word stands on line 43 of the reverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The formal part of the Suālkucī grant ends in its 37th line (the last but one on the reverse side of the existing first plate) with the phrase *çāsanī-kṛtya*, which stands in the 58th line (the first of the 3rd plate of the Bargāon grant). From here the remainder of the Suālkucī grant is occupied with the portion peculiar to it, describing the grantee and the granted land.

The mechanical execution of the Suālkucī grant is, if anything, still more slovenly and inaccurate than that of the Bargāon grant. A glance over the extracts, given below, will show numerous blunders. There are, however, a few variants, which appear to be genuine differences of composition; e.g., l. 14, *kalahansa-gāminī* (for *kalahaṃsa-gāminī*) 'females walking like kalahaṃsa geese,' l. 24, *Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*; or which actually offer more suitable readings, as in l. 11, *kṛḍā-çakuni* (for *krīḍā-çakuni*), and in l. 33, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika*.

Palaeographically the Suālkucī grant does not differ in any way from the Bargāon grant. The guttural nasal *ṅ* is throughout made without a ringlet. Only once, in l. 12, *taṃka*, it is represented by the anusvāra; but this case is not above suspicion, because the reading here is defective; see the extract below. The anusvāra is formed by a ringlet and placed above the line. The special final form for *n* occurs in l. 10, *jānapadān*, and l. 11, *prabhṛtīn* and *sarvvān*. The special final form of *t* occurs in l. 21, *bhṛt*, and in l. 34 'bhūt. The special final form of *m* occurs, twice, in ll. 23 and 24 *vairyam*; as a rule, however, the anusvāra is used; thus in l. 9, *maṇḍalam*, l. 10, *alaykāram*, l. 16, *sārthānām*, and l. 23, *gambhīrya[m]*, where the Bargāon grant has the special form. The initial short *i*, made by two ringlets placed above a hook, occurs in ll. 3 and 34, *iti*, l. 40, *iṣṭa*; but in l. 21, the hiatus with *iva*, which the Bargāon grant shows, is avoided in the Suālkucī grant by the insertion of a euphonic *r*. The avagraha occurs in l. 25, *çūryō'ri*, where it is omitted in the Bargāon grant. It appears also to be intended, in l. 40, by the mark of interpunctuation.

Regarding the probable date of the Suālkucī grant, see the remarks on the Bargāon grant. It is not dated in any era, but professes to have been issued in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

In the following transcript I shall only quote such portions of the Suālkucī grant as differ in any respect from the corresponding portions of the Bargāon grant, or as show the same irregularities. The portion peculiar to the Suālkucī grant is transcribed in full.

TEXT.¹*Second Plate: Obverse.*

- 1, phala etc., ending with samprāptā-lakṣmyāḥ sthitam=i- (see Bargāon grant, ll. 21 and 22).
- 2, va apparently ratnōpamō narapati etc. (cf. l. 23.)
- 4, padma-rāgi çōbhētā vira-vaṇijām nikaraiḥ etc. (cf. ll. 25, 26).
- 5, bhānum samvēçya tā (*sic*) etc. (cf. l. 127):
- 6, sat-ōpāyanī sa-mada etc., omitting kṛta (cf. l. 29).
- 7, syāndi-dāmvu (*sic*) samupasamitu (*sic*) luṇṭanal-lampāta etc. (cf. ll. 29, 30).
- 8, ... nivāsa-yōgyam | sundarī-chudhā (*sic*) sikhar-ādhirudha-sahasr-ānta etc. (cf. ll. 31, 32).
- 9, sthali-ruham | kānanēm=iv=ānēka-bhōgi-sata nabhō-vammēvāpta (*sic*) (cf. l. 32, 33).
- 11, kṛḍā-çakuni-dṛḍha² prajvarēṇa etc. (cf. l. 34).
- 12, Kēralē | sa-calā-çilājatuh nā (*sic*) Vāhika-tamka etc., omitting Tāika (cf. l. 35).
- 13, rājajakṣmaṇā | vakṣaḥ | kapāta etc. (l. 35, 36).
- 14, kalahansa-gāminī | kulaḥ kuṇita-prēçala (*sic*) ōrmmi | çikar-āsāram=upaçamitā etc. (cf. ll. 36, 37).
- 15, ādhirudha | paṭē nākiça (*sic*) (cf. ll. 37, 38).
- 76, anēkamanakṣa-pati etc. (cf. l. 39).
- 17, adhyuvāsyā (*sic*) | yaṣṭiṣu |³ n-ēndrayēṣu etc. (cf. l. 40).

Second Plate: Reverse.

- 20, y-ānuvarttanam | ... piçitā svāpadēṣu | ... Vāsav-āsparddhini | etc., omitting çitā (cf. ll. 43, 44).
- 21, ṇḍalam | çatru-sarasām darppita mārttaṇḍa r=iva bhū-bhṛt-chirō-nivēçita-pādam | ōdbhāsana-lā- (cf. ll. 44, 45).

¹ From the original plates.

² The akṣara *dha* stands below the line.

³ This mark of interpunctuation is placed almost regularly after each clause.

- 22, laçaç⁴=ca kāmārūpā | nandi dānavāri | paruṣōttamō
(sic) py=adanārddanō | etc. (cf. ll. 46, 47).
- 23, pi mattēha-gāmī ya | sā rūpā | gambhīrya | ... āsansi-
vairyam | etc. (cf. ll. 47, 48).
- 24, ndi-vairyam | yaçaṣi | Bhiṣmō dhanuṣi | etc. (cf. ll. 48, 49).
- 25, Āsiryō'ri-tamasi |³ etc. (cf. l. 50).
- 26, sampadī ya | pādānudhyātaḥ paramēçvaraḥ parama-satāra-
(sic) (cf. ll. 50, 51).
- 27, çrīmān=**Ratnapāla**-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçali || ☞ || Kala-
- 28, ngā-viṣay-āntaḥ-pāti-dhānya-tri-sahasr-ōtpattika-ha-kṛṣṭā⁵-
bhūmau yathāyatham samupasthita-v(b)rā-
- 29, hmaṇ-ādi etc. (cf. l. 54).
- 33, nānā-nimitt mahiṣ-āj-āvika-pracāra-prabhṛtinām etc.
(cf. ll. 57 58).
- 34, çāsanī-kṛtya || ⁶ Bhāradvāja-sa-gōtrō Vājasaṇēyī Çṛkāṇva⁷
çākhō'bhūt | bhaṭṭō V(b)ala-dēva iti khyāta-
- 35, ḥ çruta-vinaya-sampannaḥ || [1 ||] Āsīt-pratihata-narakō v(b)a-
hu-vibudha-vandyamāna-carāṇa-yugmaḥ | × × × × × ma ×
× × ×.⁸
- 36, s=tat-putrō Vāsudēv-ākhyāḥ || [2 ||] Lakṣmīr=iva jana-sēvyā
bhāry=āsīd=asya vallabhā sādhvī | c=Chēppāyik=ēti viditā sad-
dharmmā va-
- 37, rṇa-bhūṣaṇā⁹ ramyā || [3 ||] ¹⁰Tāsyām=ajāyata sutō bhuvī Kāma-
dēvaḥ çaktyā¹¹ manō-ramatayā jita-kāma-dēhaḥ | kāntiḥ
- 38, samasta bhuvanām hi çaçāṅka-çubhrā yasy=āniçam=bhramati
bhūri vibhūṣita-dyauḥ || [4 ||] ¹²Pitrōḥ svam=punyam=uddiçya
¹³ × × × × ×

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 39, — ☺ — | mayā dattā dvijāy=āsyai rājyē ṣadviṇçad-āv(b)dikē
|| [5 ||] Asyās=sīmā pūrvvēṇa Candē-nauki(nā)¹⁴

⁴ The first akṣara ça is superfluous.

⁵ Perhaps read *hala-kṛṣṭa*.

⁶ Metre of verses 1-3: *Āryā*.

⁷ Read *Çṛikāṇva*.

⁸ Ten akṣaras are here illegible.

⁹ The reading is uncertain.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

¹¹ Reading uncertain.

¹² Metre: *Çlōka*.

¹³ Here 8 akṣaras, or a quarter-verse, are illegible.

¹⁴ The bracketed portions are uncertain.

- 40, (n=s)aha-sīmni iṣṭak(ēndrasy)=ōpari ṣa(va)ra-mūla¹⁵ | khōd-
 āmv(b)ra-vṛkṣau | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna (dakṣī¹⁶)-pāṭi-naukī-sa-
 41, ha-sīmni Vētasa-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇēna Sadhava-naukī-saha-sīmni
 Hijala-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-paṣcimēna (Bhaṣaka)-
 42, ma-vṛkṣaḥ | paṣcimēna Candē-naukī-saha-sīmni adhunā-rōpita-
 Ḥālmali-vṛkṣaḥ | paṣcim-ōttarēna Kalanḡā-
 43, daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Sadhava-Kalanḡā-
 daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭa-stha-Cōraka-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrē-
 44, ṇa kula-sōnt-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Sadhava-kula-
 sōnt-ōttara-pāṭa-stha-Varuṇa-vṛkṣaḥ | uttara-ga-vakrēna Hija-
 45, la-vṛkṣaḥ | uttarēna Diyamv(b)ārāñjal-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | uttara-
 pūrvvēṇ=āli-mastaka-Vētasaṣ=c=ēti ||

The Seal.

- (1) Ōm svasti Prāggyōtiṣ-ādhipaty-anva-
 (2) yō mahārāj-ādhirāja-ḡrī-**Ratna**-
 (3) **pāla**-varmma-dēvaḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Second Plate : Reverse.

(Line 34; verse 1.) There was a learned Brāhman, called Bala-dēva, full of holy lore and good conduct, who belonged to Bhāradvāja's gōtra and the Ḥrikāṇṭha ṣākhā of the Vājasaneyins.

(2) He had a son, Vāsudēva by name,.....¹⁷, who (by his sanctity) had exempted himself from hell, and whose feet were revered by many learned men.

(3) He had a loving and chaste wife who, like Lakṣmī (the goddess of good fortune), was honoured by the people. She was known by the name of Chēppāyikā,¹⁸ a woman charming, true in faith, and an ornament to her caste.

(4) From her was born a son Kāmadēva who on earth by his power and his charm excels Kāma, the god of love; for his beauty, brilliant like the moon, and illuminating the heavens, incessantly wanders through the whole world.

¹⁵ Probably read *mūlē 'khōd-āmbra*.

¹⁶ Perhaps read *dakṣiṇa*.

¹⁷ Here the original text is illegible. There are 11 akṣaras—all short, as the metre shows,—of which only one (the seventh) *ma* is legible.

¹⁸ This appears to be a vernacular name, the Sanskrit equivalent of which I do not know.

(5) With a view to my parents' as well as my own welfare,.....
....., (this land) is given by me to this Brāhman, in the twenty-sixth year of my reign.

Its boundaries are (as follows): On the East, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candē men, and at the foot of the Saravā above the brickfield there are a walnut and a mango tree. On the North-east, at the anchorage of the boats of the men (located) on the southern terrace, there is a Vētasa-tree.¹⁹ On the South, at the anchorage of the boats of the Sadhava men, there stands a Hijjala-tree. On the South-west, there stands a Bhayakama(?) tree. On the West, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candē men, there stands the Çālmali-tree which has been recently planted. On the North-west, there is the southern terrace of the boatmen of Kalanḡā. At the bend on the East, there is the Cōraka tree, standing on the southern terrace of the boatmen of the Sadhava (portion of) Kalanḡā. At the bend on the South, there is the northern terrace of the Sōnta²⁰ of the (river's) bank. At the bend on the East, there is the Varuṇa-tree, standing on the northern terrace of the Sōnta of the Sadhava (portion of the) river's bank. At the bend on the North, there is a Hijjala tree. On the North, there is the northern terrace of the Diyambārāñjala, and on the North-east, a Vētasa-tree on the highest point of the dike.

The Seal.

Ōm! Hail! the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, of the illustrious race of the lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the illustrious **Ratnapāla** Varma Dēva.

¹⁹ Regarding the identity of the trees in this list, see *ante*, page 120, footnote 35. Of the Bhayakama tree I can make nothing, but the akṣaras *bhayaka* are uncertain. I am unable to identify the Cōraka tree. It is commonly identified with *Trijonella corniculata* or *Andropogon acicularis*; these, however, are mere plants.

²⁰ I do not know what *sōnta* means. It corresponds to *daṇḍi* in the preceding clause.